

Washington Office of the International Labor Organization, or ILO, after almost a decade serving this specialized agency of the United Nations in its liaison with the executive and federal branches of the U.S. Government. These last 9 years spent in this important role follow his 33-year career as a U.S. Foreign Service Officer.

In that career, Mr. Freeman represented our country all over the world: in Valencia, Spain and Rome, Italy; in Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo and La Paz. From 1983 to 1992, he served as Coordinator for International Labor Affairs and the Agency for International Development. In that capacity, he was Special Assistant to three Secretaries of State.

Tony Freeman's professional focus has been advancing the role of freedom of labor around the world, promoting the dignity and safety of workers wherever they toiled. He was a labor specialist who served as labor officer in many of his posts around the world. This experience was developed over three decades, culminating in his last assignment at the State Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. No one understands better than Tony Freeman that true democracy cannot exist without human rights and neither exist without the freedom of the working man and woman.

Some may not be aware of the importance that American labor has played in U.S. foreign policy through the decades. Some may not appreciate the role that the American worker has played in building alliances with workers around the world, conveying and supporting traditions of freedom—freedom to work and to organize and to be free of oppression—that are an essential aspect of American society. American unions, working through the State Department and working independently, have done great work advancing freedom around the planet, and continue to do so today.

American unions were some of the greatest forces fighting communism during the cold war. The great Irving Brown, who I am pleased to say became my mentor and friend early in my career, when he introduced me to a fledgling Polish union named Solidarity, made his reputation immediately after World War II, when he worked tirelessly with Italian and French labor movements to prevent those nations from succumbing to Soviet influence.

Lane Kirkland, the president of the AFL-CIO from 1979–1995, was a staunch anti-communist who played an important role in defending Solidarity in its early years. I was happy to work with these great men. I come from the working class. I worked as a lather to support my young family while I went to school, and I am proud to this day that I was a union member. It was easy and natural for me to work with other anti-communists from the labor movement to help defeat Soviet tyranny. In later years, Lane Kirkland would say to me,

"Orrin, if only your domestic policy was as good as your foreign policy." "Well, Lane," I would retort, "I could pay you the same compliment!"

After 33 years working labor issues at the Department of State, Tony Freeman accepted the position of Director of the Washington Office of the International Labor Organization in late 1994. I first worked closely with Tony in 1995 and 1996, when a misguided congressional initiative threatened to defund U.S. participation in the ILO. It was a time when the ILO needed to make itself relevant to U.S. audiences, particularly Congress. Irving Brown's legacy with the ILO, when we all worked together to fight Soviet communism, was a great historical achievement, but that did not move policy-makers in Washington searching for new roles for international organizations in the post-Cold War era.

I joined with the late senator from New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who, incidentally, did his doctoral dissertation on the ILO, to defend continued U.S. support for this organization. Supporters of the ILO came to our offices, including representatives from the Labor Department, unions and U.S. businesses. The beauty and strength of the ILO is that it is the only tripartite international organization of its type in the world, where workers and employers from all member nations join to address labor questions alongside their governments. We made our case that the ILO's relevance in an era of expanding trade and globalization, as well as spreading transnational challenges like child labor exploitation, was greater than ever.

And we prevailed, and the U.S. continues to play a role in that important body. All of the coordination to preserve that role was organized by Tony Freeman, and today I want to express my personal gratitude for that important work in 1996.

Tony's efforts did not peak then, and he spent the following years raising the ILO's visibility, and its new missions, before new audiences in the U.S. He developed closer ties between the ILO and human rights groups in the U.S. He drew their attention to the basic human right of working people around the world to have a voice in the workplace, and to the work of the ILO to free people trapped in slavery and bondage, including the forced laborers in Burma. He strengthened the common bond between the ILO and organizations and policy makers fighting to end abusive child labor and saw large increases in U.S. funding for the ILO's child labor programs. In addition, Tony Freeman worked tirelessly to gain U.S. ratification of ILO conventions, and, during his tenure at the ILO, he made a signal contribution to the efforts that led to U.S. ratification of Convention No. 176 on Safety and Health in Mines in 2001.

I understand that Tony will be teaching in Washington in the coming years, as well continuing to offer his lifetime

of experience and counsel. I am relieved to hear this, because we still need Tony Freeman's experience. He has lived a great life of service to the working man and woman, across all borders, and he has served the American public well. Today, I wish to honor the work of Tony Freeman all these years. I thank him for his 33 years in the State Department. I thank him for the critical leadership he provided the International Labor Organization. I thank him for putting up with all my Irving Brown stories. I thank him for his friendship. Most of all, I wish to thank Tony Freeman for his service to his country.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2003

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the need for hate crimes legislation. On May 1, 2003, Senator KENNEDY and I introduced the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act, a bill that would add new categories to current hate crimes law, sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred in Portland, OR. On November 13, 1988, Mulugeta Seraw was savagely beaten to death by three white supremacists. Seraw had been visiting with two other Ethiopian males and was on his way home when he was attacked. Three members of the East Side White Pride jumped out of their car and beat 27-year-old Seraw to death with steel baseball bats.

I believe that government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act is a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

POSTWAR IRAQ

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, President Bush did the right thing today by taking personal responsibility for the inclusion of misleading intelligence information in this year's State of the Union. But he has yet to turn his full attention to the more urgent matter at hand, winning the peace in Iraq.

To finish the fight and help build a free Iraq, President Bush must create a new national and international consensus for the benefit of our Nation's security, the future of the Middle East and the well-being of America's fighting men and women.

A new consensus is only possible, however, if the administration is honest enough to admit what is not working in Iraq and courageous enough to design a new approach that will.

The President must acknowledge a plain truth that everybody knows. This war is not over, and his administration declared a premature victory. Our military did a superb job toppling Saddam;

now they need the support, the resources, and the right troops to defeat the significant pockets of guerilla opposition that remain.

Unfortunately, unless we adjust our course, the management of postwar Iraq may well be viewed by history as the most consequential mismanagement of an international crisis by any U.S. administration since Vietnam.

Notwithstanding the deaths of Qusai and Odai Hussein, the joint U.S.-UK mission is in deep trouble. Nine months ago, I called for the administration to enlist NATO in comprehensive planning for postwar Iraq. What we are seeing now is the costs of failing to plan and refusing to internationalize our approach.

The departure of Saddam Hussein from power is an opportunity to change the course of history in the Middle East. That is one reason I supported and celebrated Iraq's liberation. It could have been, should have been, and still might prove a victory for people everywhere who respect human rights, cherish freedom, seek to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and believe that peace between Arabs and Israel is both achievable and essential.

To succeed, we will need all the help we can get—from NATO and other allies, the U.N., and friends within the Arab and Muslim communities. The President apparently believes that we can succeed largely on our own.

The American people are starving for some straight talk. There is no reason except failed Presidential leadership that 90 percent of the foreign troops in Iraq are American. As commander in chief, he should be able to assure the families of our Armed Forces in Iraq that absolutely everything is being done to help them achieve their mission and come home safely and soon. He could not honestly provide such an assurance today.

Our troops won't get the help or protection they need unless the administration offers to share authority and responsibility for reconstruction efforts in Iraq. The President should not let past disagreements or misguided ideology stand in the way. The administration has little patience for diplomacy, so they argue that a U.N. framework means a loss of American control.

That is simply untrue. Like we did in Kosovo, we should ask the U.N. to provide a mandate for a coalition-led force that will work in consultation with, but not under the control of, the U.N. civilian administration. That will preserve the absolutely essential American control of our forces, but create a framework in which many nations can participate comfortably.

The Bush administration must level with the world and with the American people. A new consensus must be built on the truth. Winning the peace in Iraq will require many months, probably several years. It will cost tens of billions of dollars more than can be accounted for by Iraqi oil revenues. It

will entail grave, ongoing risks to our Armed Forces. But it is a necessary, even noble, mission in which every law-abiding and freedom-loving country has a stake, and to which each should be invited to contribute not as a favor to America, but as a gift to our common future.

EXECUTIVE NOMINEES TO DOJ

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to state that I object to proceeding to the consideration of two executive nominees to the Department of Justice. The first nominee is Mr. Christopher A. Wray, who is nominated to be the assistant attorney general of the criminal division at the Department of Justice. The second nominee to which I object is Mr. Jack Landman Goldsmith III, who is nominated to be assistant attorney general, office of legal counsel at the Department of Justice.

I have placed holds on these individuals because I have numerous outstanding issues that have yet to be resolved by the Department of Justice. More specifically, I have several outstanding written requests before the Department of Justice. Some of these requests are more than 6 months overdue. In addition, I am presently working with the Department of Justice to overcome a number of procedural issues directly affecting my ability, as a member of the Judiciary Committee to, among other things, conduct oversight of the Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigations.

DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Fiscal Year 2004 Department of Homeland Security appropriations bill. As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I want to congratulate the members of the new Appropriations Subcommittee on successfully completing the first annual appropriations bill providing funding for the new Department of Homeland Security.

Just as the Department of Homeland Security has made momentous progress in protecting our citizens while simultaneously creating a new government agency, the members of the Homeland Security Subcommittee have moved expeditiously to recommend funding in a responsible manner. There is no bill more important to the citizens of Utah, and we recognize the committee's important efforts.

The bill's appropriation of \$28.5 billion accomplishes many things. One of the most important is continued support of the Office for Domestic Preparedness. This office, which awards grants to State and local agencies to assist them in preparing our first responders, has had a 1,500 percent increase in funding since September 11, 2001. Today's recommendation of \$3.6 billion will bring the total amount spent on first responder preparedness to \$8.8 billion since that fateful day.

Our Nation's airports are infinitely more protected than they were just one year ago. The bill continues this important work by providing \$4.5 billion for passenger and baggage screening and airport security. It also provides \$4.9 billion for securing our borders. The bill funds the US VISIT system development with \$380 million. This new system will allow our Nation to collect, maintain and share appropriate information in order to determine the eligibility of foreign citizens wishing to visit the United States.

I appreciate that the committee has decided not to earmark funding for specific Congressional requests and to leave these decisions to the appropriate agencies. The defense of our Nation and in particular the protection of our citizens will never be achieved by purely political decisions, but through diligent hard work and strategic planning.

However, I would like to bring to the Senate's attention a program that has already proven its effectiveness in protecting our citizens and was initiated by the Office for Domestic Preparedness. Last year, the Office for Domestic Preparedness asked Dugway Proving Ground to develop and teach a Ph.D driven chemical and biological emergency responder course. Dugway Proving Ground is our Nation's chemical and biological defense proving ground. The result of these classes has been an unparalleled success and the student responses were overwhelmingly positive. Participants in the class were unanimous in their praise and the Chief of the Chicago HAZMAT Unit categorized the program as "one that all first responders should attend." A student commented further that "This was the best use of time in my 25 year career." The courses focused on agent characteristics, sampling, protection, detection, decontamination and chem/bio production recognition, such as the difference between clandestine drug laboratories, industrial accidents or chemical/biological production capabilities. Students also learned to assess a situation in order to determine the proper course of action. Clearly, these first responder training courses at Dugway are a national resource and though the Committee did not recommend funding for individual programs, I hope that the Office for Domestic Preparedness will continue to sponsor this important program.

I congratulate the committee on its fine work and urge the Senate's approval of the bill.

CULTURAL BRIDGES

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, next week 54 high school students from the Islamic and Arab world will arrive in the United States for a year of study under a new exchange program to help bridge the cultural divide between America and the Islamic and Arab nations of the world. Secretary Powell will welcome the students at a ceremony at the State Department on Wednesday, August 5.